

will be an opportunity for the Iraqi people to experience some measure of catharsis and closure on a dark and terrible chapter in their history.

I commend them for their courage to restrain the desire for vengeance and to commit to the rule of law. It cannot be easy. Saddam's abuse ran deep and ran wide. But by granting him a fair trial—an opportunity to answer the charges—the Iraqi people are showing that Saddam's brutality was born of his nature and not theirs.

Cicero once said:

Let us remember that justice must be observed even to the lowest.

Today, let it be said that justice will be observed even by the once mighty.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

#### RECOGNITION OF THE ACTING MINORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The acting Democratic leader is recognized.

Mr. DURBIN. Thank you, Mr. President.

#### IRAQ AND THE INTERNATIONAL STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice is testifying today at the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. She will be meeting with the full Senate later for a classified briefing.

I am sure one of the topics that will be discussed at length will be the Iraqi constitutional referendum of this last Saturday. That vote was an important milestone. The voting by so many Iraqis was again a demonstrable act of courage. It is my most sincere hope that in the months to come, the political process in Iraq moves forward, that a stable government takes control in Iraq, and that Iraq takes control of its own future.

But similar to many of my colleagues, and a growing majority of Americans, we will not be satisfied with the status quo or the stay-the-course answers that we hear over and over from the White House when it comes to the situation in Iraq. The most fundamental questions we have to ask of this President and this administration are, What is your plan for victory? What is your plan for success? What is your plan to bring American troops home from Iraq?

It now seems evident that the constitution will pass. It also seems evident that despite substantial opposition from the Sunni minority, no province will reject this constitution or, if any do, there will not be enough to, in fact, reject the whole document.

Sunnis make up 20 percent of the population but 90 percent of the insurgency in Iraq. Sectarian violence is claiming the lives of thousands of Iraqis. We can't even calculate how many. Some are fearful that this country could still fall apart.

Saturday's election is no guarantee of long-term democracy in Iraq, but it

was an important step forward and one that I applaud. The government that may now emerge needs to build legitimacy in Iraq and with its neighbors. It needs to take back control of its country from insurgency, chaos, and lawlessness so that American troops can come home.

Iraq cannot succeed if the Sunnis—one in five of the Iraqis—feel disenfranchised and alienated. It is a challenge to their leaders to put together a government now that truly reflects their country, to build not just a coalition of tribes but a nation. This must happen because the cost of destroying and now replacing the governing regime in Iraq has been so costly.

Saturday was a good day in Iraq, for sure. But the elections last January 30 also represented a good day for Iraq, and 543 Americans have lost their lives in Iraq since that election last January. Mr. President, 15,063 American service men and women have been wounded in Iraq, and 1,979 Americans have been killed. We are closing in on that awesome figure of 2,000 of our best and bravest soldiers having given their lives in Iraq.

Iraq passed an important milestone Saturday with the constitutional referendum. The process was a refreshing demonstration of democracy at work in a region unaccustomed to such a display of civic participation. But the product, some have argued, is flawed. Nonetheless, Iraqis, with their vote, have taken a step in this political process forward. This opportunity for Iraq has come at a high cost for America.

As the number of Americans killed continues to grow, and the number of injured increases as well, do we have a clear plan in place? At what moment in time will the Iraqi Army battalions be prepared to step forward so that Americans can step back? At what point in time will the Iraqi police force, the Iraqi security forces, say, "We can now control our own country and now Americans can go home"?

This administration gives us the vaguest notion that it is somehow wrong to think about when that date may come. Perhaps it is wrong to announce it but not to have a plan to reach it. It is something that concerns me.

A few weeks ago, Generals Casey and Abizaid told a meeting in Congress that only one battalion was prepared to stand and fight by itself in Iraq today—only one battalion of the Iraqi Army. It is a far cry from 150,000-plus American soldiers who stand and fight today, who risk their lives today.

Today, the trial of Saddam Hussein is beginning. We were greeted this morning with all the major news organizations showing the closed-circuit videotape and film of the trial. It is a good thing that he is standing trial because he is a vicious murderer, a thug, and a monster of a human being.

However, Americans are questioning, still, whether or not we have paid too heavy a price for this day to have ar-

rived and asking of this administration, now that he is standing trial: How much longer will we be standing trial in Iraq as we wait for the outcome each day of the bloody fighting?

What has changed since May of 2003 is that the costs of the war have risen, are still climbing; the trust the American people have placed in the President has been shaken. What has also changed is, while the cost of war continues to grow, the alleged justifications for the war have multiplied, and the clarity of our purpose has diminished dramatically. This is a terrible and tragic combination.

Saddam was a monster. That is true. But we must never forget that of all the many reasons given to us by this administration to invade Iraq, the evil nature of Saddam was the only one that has proven true. Except for the brutality of Saddam Hussein—as bad as it was, as horrible as it was—all the other reasons for going to war the administration put forth turned out not to be accurate. There were no weapons of mass destruction. We still, many years later, have found no evidence of that claim, made over and over and over again at the highest levels of this administration.

The 9/11 Commission showed us there was no support for al-Qaida in Iraq. Yet as recently as last Sunday, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice tried to again link al-Qaida and 9/11 with Saddam Hussein.

The 9/11 Commission made it clear, there is no linkage. The war has not increased our own security. Some can argue—and I think convincingly—that it has made the world a more dangerous place. It has created a training ground for terrorism in Iraq where insurgents come from surrounding countries to train themselves in killing American soldiers, to go out and do even worse to Americans and others all around the world.

The only reason left for this war was the removal of Saddam Hussein. Two-thirds of Americans, when they measure that benefit against the enormous cost in blood and treasure, conclude it may not have been worth that price. Nearly \$200 billion has been spent, nearly 2,000 Americans have been killed, and the pricetag goes up every day in terms of American lives and American treasure.

Our national interest has suffered in other ways as well. The war has altered the international strategic environment to our disadvantage. Let's begin with Iran. Iran gives every sign that it is determined to acquire nuclear weapons. Such a development threatens regional stability and our own national security. It is not in our interest or the world's interest. In August, the Bush administration went to the diplomats of more than a dozen countries and presented an hour-long slide show on Iran's nuclear program. This PowerPoint briefing incorporated satellite imagery and other data to try to convince other nations that Iran's nuclear program is aimed at producing